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	H-01	INRE-00	INR-01	L-03	ADS-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00
	OMB-01	PA-01	PM-01	PRS-01	P-01	RP-10	SNP-01
	SP-01	SS-00	TRSE-00	T-01	USIE-00	/036W	

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R 291053Z SEP 92
FM AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4019
INFO AMEMBASSY KIGALI
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY NAIROBI
AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USDAO LILONGWE MI

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 KAMPALA 05442

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR
TAGS: PREL, RW, UG
SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR DISCUSSES PROSPECTS FOR ARUSHA IV
- WITH RPF REPRESENTATIVE THEOGEN RUDASINGWA

1. CONFIDENTIAL -- ENTIRE TEXT

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2. SUMMARY: RPF REPRESENTATIVE DR. THEOGEN
RUDASINGWA MET WITH THE AMBASSADOR ON SEPTEMBER 24 TO
DISCUSS THE LATEST ROUND OF ARUSHA TALKS AND THE
PROSPECTS FOR THE NEXT ROUND. RUDASINGWA SAID THAT HE
SAW GOR INTRANSIGENCE ON THE PRESIDENCY AS THE MOST
TROUBLESOME ISSUE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. THE RPF
REMAINS DEEPLY SUSPICIOUS ABOUT PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA
AND WANTS TO FIND SOME WAY TO EFFECTIVELY LIMIT HIS
AUTHORITY DURING THE TRANSITION PERIOD. THE RPF REP
ASSERTED, HOWEVER, THAT HIS ORGANIZATION IS NOT/NOT
PUSHING FOR THE EXCLUSION OF THE MRND OR FOR

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HABYARIMANA TO STEP DOWN DURING THE TRANSITION. RUDASINGWA SAID THAT THE RPF "CAN COMPROMISE" ON QUESTIONS OF LOCAL AUTONOMY, THE ROLE OF THE JUDICIARY AND LEGISLATURE, AND THE STATUS OF THE PRESENT CONSTITUTION. THE AMBASSADOR STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF KEEPING THE PROCESS MOVING FORWARD AND ADHERING TO THE CEASEFIRE. HE ALSO SUGGESTED THAT ALTERNATIVE FORMULAE FOR ESTABLISHING CHECKS ON THE RWANDAN EXECUTIVE COULD BE FOUND. RUDASINGWA RESPONDED THAT THE RPF IS "OPEN TO SUGGESTIONS." END SUMMARY

3. DR. THEOGEN RUDASINGWA, AN RPF NEGOTIATOR AT THE ARUSHA TALKS, DISCUSSED THE STATUS AND PROSPECTS OF RPF-GOR NEGOTIATIONS IN ARUSHA DURING A 90 MINUTE MEETING WITH THE AMBASSADOR ON SEPTEMBER 24. POLOFF ALSO ATTENDED THE MEETING, WHICH WAS HELD AT THE AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE. RUDASINGWA WAS IN KAMPALA EN ROUTE TO THE JPMC TALKS IN ADDIS ABABA.

4. RUDASINGWA PROVIDED A READOUT OF RPF VIEWS ON THE
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RECENTLY-CONCLUDED TALKS ON POWER SHARING DURING THE TRANSITION. HE CHARACTERIZED THE OVERALL TENOR OF THE ARUSHA III TALKS AS "NOT VERY PRODUCTIVE," BUT PROVIDED THE FOLLOWING SUMMARY OF WHERE THE RPF STANDS ON A VARIETY OF POLITICAL ISSUES:

-- ALL THE EXTANT POLITICAL PARTIES IN RWANDA SHOULD BE INCLUDED IN THE TRANSITION; THE RPF IS NOT SEEKING A DOMINANT ROLE;

-- THE MRND HAS A LEGITIMATE ROLE IN THE DEMOCRATIZATION PROCESS AND SHOULD NOT BE EXCLUDED;

-- PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA CAN STAY ON DURING THE TRANSITION PERIOD, BUT HIS POWER AND AUTHORITY HAVE TO BE STRICTLY LIMITED;

-- THE CURRENT CONSTITUTION HAS SOME FLAWS, BUT IS GENERALLY WORKABLE AND IS CAPABLE OF SERVING AS THE PRINCIPAL GOVERNING DOCUMENT FOLLOWING THE TRANSITION AND NEW ELECTIONS;

-- THE PEACE AGREEMENT THAT IS ULTIMATELY ACHIEVED SHOULD TAKE PRECEDENCE OVER THE CONSTITUTION DURING

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THE TRANSITION PERIOD;

--- THE RPF FAVORS THE IDEA OF HAVING THE OBSERVER
NATIONS SERVE AS GUARANTORS OF ANY PEACE AGREEMENT
THAT IS ACHIEVED;

-- THE TRANSITION PERIOD SHOULD BE LONG ENOUGH TO
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ACCOMPLISH THE REINTEGRATION OF ALL THOSE REFUGEES WHO
WISH TO RETURN HOME AND THE AMALGAMATION OF THE ARMED
FORCES. IDEALLY, THE RPF WOULD LIKE A FOUR YEAR
TRANSITION PERIOD, BUT THIS IS NEGOTIABLE. THE SIX
MONTH TRANSITION PROPOSED BY THE GOR IS TOO SHORT TO
ACCOMPLISH THE MAIN GOALS OF THE RPF.

5. RUDASINGWA SAID THAT THE MAIN REASON THAT ARUSHA
III HAD NOT BEEN PRODUCTIVE WAS BECAUSE THE GOR
REFUSED TO AGREE TO A MECHANISM TO CURB THE POWER AND
AUTHORITY OF PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA AND TO SHARE
EXECUTIVE DECISION-MAKING. RUDASINGWA INSISTED THAT

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FM AMEMBASSY KAMPALA
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 03 KAMPALA 05442

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UNDER THE GOR PROPOSALS, HABYARIMANA WOULD CONTINUE TO
WIELD UNDUE INFLUENCE OVER THE ORGANS OF GOVERNMENT
AND THAT THE RPF FRANKLY DID NOT TRUST HIM TO BEHAVE
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RESPONSIBLY. "CABINET SEATS AND REPRESENTATION IN THE
LEGISLATURE ARE NOT SUFFICIENT," HE SAID, /HEN
HABYARIMANA EXERCISES SO MUCH CONSTITUTIONAL AND
UNCONSTITUTIONAL AUTHORITY. RUDASINGWA EXPLAINED THAT
THE RPF PROPOSAL FOR A SEVEN MEMBER EXECUTIVE
"NATIONAL COUNCIL" WAS CALCULATED TO APPEAL TO
PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA, AS IT WOULD ALLOW HIM TO
MAINTAIN HIS TITLE AND THE CHAIRMANSHIP OF THE
EXECUTIVE. NEITHER THE RPF NOR HABYARIMANA WOULD BE
PREDOMINANT IN THE "NATIONAL COUNCIL." RUDASINGWA
DISMISSED THE IDEAS THAT THE RPF WAS INTERESTED IN
GRABBING POWER OR INSTITUTING A ROTATING PRESIDENCY
DURING THE TRANSITION.

6. RUDASINGWA STRESSED THAT THE RPF WAS NOT SEEKING
50-50 REPRESENTATION IN ANY BRANCH OF GOVERNMENT. "WE
ARE TRYING TO STICK TO REALISTIC PROPOSALS," HE SAID.
THE COALITION PARTNERS IN THE CURRENT GOVERNMENT COULD
REMAIN, HE SAID, WHILE THE RPF WOULD SHARE CABINET
SEATS NOW HELD BY THE MRND. FOR THE LEGISLATURE, HE
SAID THE RPF HAD SUGGESTED EQUAL REPRESENTATION FOR
ALL PARTIES, INCLUDING THE RPF, IN A TRIMMED-DOWN

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TRANSITIONAL NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF ABOUT 40 MEMBERS. HE SAID THAT THE RPF OBJECTED TO GOR PRESCRIPTIONS FOR THE JUDICIARY, SAYING THAT SERVICE IN THE RWANDAN LEGAL SYSTEM SHOULD NOT BE A PREREQUISITE FOR THE APPOINTMENT OF NEW JUDGES. RUDASINGWA INDICATED THAT THE RPF DID NOT HAVE RIGID VIEWS ON LOCAL AUTONOMY VERSUS CENTRAL AUTHORITY. ALL QUESTIONS REMAINED NEGOTIABLE, HE SAID, EXCEPT "THE NEED FOR REAL CHECKS AND BALANCES ON THE EXECUTIVE."

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7. THE PRIMACY OF THE TRUCE AGREEMENT OVER THE CURRENT CONSTITUTION OF RWANDA IS A KEY RPF DEMAND, ACCORDING TO RUDASINGWA. WHEN THEY EXAMINED THE CONSTITUTION TO SEE WHAT PARTS COULD BE RETAINED, "WE FOUND THAT THREE-QUARTERS OF THE CLAUSES WOULD HAVE TO GO," HE SAID. NEVERTHELESS, HE RESPONDED POSITIVELY TO THE AMBASSADOR'S SUGGESTION THAT THE REAL PROBLEM WAS NOT THE CONSTITUTION ITSELF, BUT THOSE WHO WERE IN POWER. RUDASINGWA LEFT OPEN THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE CONSTITUTION MIGHT BE "SUSPENDED" DURING THE INTERIM PERIOD, AND THEN BROUGHT BACK INTO FORCE IN AN AMENDED FORM.

8. THE AMBASSADOR URGED RUDASINGWA NOT TO LET GOR INTRANSIGENCE DRIVE THE RPF FROM THE NEGOTIATIONS. HE STRESSED THAT THE PARTY THAT PULLED OUT OF THE TALKS WOULD HAVE TO BEAR THE BURDEN OF CAUSING THE NEGOTIATIONS AND THE CEASEFIRE TO FAIL. FOREIGN OBSERVERS AND PUBLIC OPINION WOULD PROBABLY TURN AGAINST THE PARTY THAT WALKED AWAY FIRST. THE USG, HE SAID, SUPPORTS THE PROCESS AND BELIEVES THAT SOLUTIONS CAN BE FOUND TO THE DIFFERENCES THAT EMERGED AT ARUSHA III. RUDASINGWA SAID THAT "WE WILL NOT BE MANEUVERED INTO FIRING THE FIRST SHOT," AND SAID THAT THE RPF TAKES THE PROCESS SERIOUSLY AND IS OPEN TO SUGGESTIONS FROM ALL PARTIES ON HOW TO RESOLVE THE OUTSTANDING ISSUES.

9. RUDASINGWA EXPRESSED DISAPPOINTMENT WITH FOREIGN MINISTER NGULINZIRA'S CLOSING REMARKS, WHICH HE SAID

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 BACKTRACKED ON PROGRESS THAT HAD BEEN ACHIEVED IN THE
 NEGOTIATIONS. HE SAID THAT THE RPF RECOGNIZED THE
 FONMIN'S "DELICATE POSITION," BUT SAID THAT NOT ALL OF
 NGULINZIRA'S RECENT HARD-LINE STATEMENTS COULD BE
 ATTRIBUTED TO HIS NEED TO ACCOMODATE HABYARIMANA AND
 THE MRND-LED GOVERNMENT. RUDANSINGWA WAS PARTICULARLY
 EXERCISED THAT NGULINZIRA SPECIFICALLY RULED OUT A/Y
 COMPROMISE ON THE PRESIDENCY. RUDASINGWA SAID THAT
 THE PRINCIPAL WORRY OF THE RPF GOING INTO ARUSHA IV IS
 THAT IT WILL BE EXPECTED TO BOW TO "UNACCEPTABLE
 DEMANDS" OF THE GOVERNMENT IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE AN
 AGREEMENT. HE ARGUED AGAIN THAT HABYARIMANA IS

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 03 OF 03 KAMPALA 05442

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SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR DISCUSSES PROSPECTS FOR ARUSHA IV

UNTRUSTWORTHY AND THAT SOME CONTROLS WOULD HAVE TO BE
PUT IN PLACE TO OVERCOME PRESIDENTIAL OBSTINACY.

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11. RUDASINGWA SAID THAT THE RPF IS OPEN TO OUR IDEAS
AND SUGGESTIONS ON BRIDGING SOME OF THE ISSUES AT
ARUSHA IV. HE WILL BE PASSING BACK THROUGH KAMPALA
PRIOR TO PROCEEDING TO ARUSHA, AND WE WOULD BE HAPPY
TO PRESS OUR LATEST THINKING ON HIM. HE PROMISED TO
CALL THE AMBASSADOR WHEN HE FLIES IN FROM ETHIOPIA.

12. COMMENT: DR. RUDASINGWA'S ASSESSMENT OF
ARUSHA III DOVETAILS WITH REPORTING WE HAVE SEEN FROM
OTHER POSTS. HIS COMMENTS CONFIRM THE RPF'S DEEP
SUSPICION, IF NOT OUTRIGHT PARANOIA, OF PRESIDENT
HABYARIMANA. WHILE THE RPF LEADERSHIP IS PREPARED TO
LET HABYARIMANA REMAIN AS TITULAR PRESIDENT, IT IS
DETERMINED TO STRIP AWAY MOST OF HIS EXECUTIVE POWERS
DURING THE TRANSITION. THIS POINT SEEMS FAR MORE
IMPORTANT TO THE RPF THAN THE SIZE OF THE CABINET OR
THE LEGISLATURE, OR WHETHER THE CURRENT CONSTITUTIONAL
STRUCTURES MUST BE REPLACED. DESPITE THE RPF'S

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DISTASTE FOR HABYARIMANA, THEY SEEM TO RECOGNIZE THAT
THEY WILL NOT BE ABLE TO TURN THEIR BATTLEFIELD GAINS
INTO AN OUTRIGHT RPF POLITICAL TAKEOVER. RUDASINGWA
STRESSED THAT THE RPF KNOWS IT HAS TO SHARE POWER IN
AN EQUITABLE MANNER. END COMMENT

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